423 provided in Lithuania by the law of 1922, and in Estonia by a law
471 of March 5, 1926, proved in practice to be negligible, owing to the currencies in which it was expressed.[1] Petitions on the subject of compensation presented to the League of Nations by the German Balts of Estonia (1926) and Latvia (1925), and by Polish landowners in Lithuania (1925), were all rejected on the ground that agrarian reform constituted a social, and not a minority, question.

The ways in which the lands thus nationalized by the agrarian laws were distributed, and the effects of the redistribution on the economic life of the three countries, are described elsewhere.[2] It is enough here to stress the fact that the chief beneficiaries were the landless agri-
423 cultural labourers, the small-holders, and the tenant farmers. The
178 abolition of the semi-feudal society which had survived up to the World War, and the creation of a large class of peasant proprietors, were factors which very largely determined the lines on which the political life of the new Republics would develop. They explain, in part, not only the failure of Communism to take root in these countries in spite of the proximity to Soviet Russia of two, at least, of them, but also the gradually declining influence of the Socialist and other Left parties in the years immediately following the setting up of the Republics, and the eventual establishment of agrarian dictatorships in Estonia and Latvia in 1934.

2. National Minorities[3]

●563 *Lithuania.* At the last census, taken in 1923, the national minor-
162 ities in Lithuania together formed 16·12 per cent. of her total population, which then numbered 2,028,971.[4] The Jews, the largest group,[5] were chiefly to be found in the towns, and played an important part in the business life of the country, whereas the Russian minority consisted chiefly of peasants who settled in certain parts of the country more or less *en masse*, under the Tsarist régime, together with some 4,000 White Russian peasant colonists. The Germans,

[1] In Estonia compensation was based on the pre-War value of the rouble; for the Lithuanian arrangements, see below, p. 107. [2] See below, pp. 105–9.

[3] Much of the material for this section was obtained from C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities*, Oxford University Press, 1934.

[4] Table 1. *Population of Lithuania (excluding Memel) According to Race* (1923 *census*).

	Lithuanians	*Jews*	*Russians*	*Germans*	*Poles*	*Letts*	*Others*
Number . . .	1,701,863	153,743	54,881	29,231	65,599	14,883	8,771
Percentage of total population . .	83·88	7·58	2·70	1·44	3·23	0·73	0·44

[5] The density of the Jewish population in Lithuania, which resembles that of Poland and Eastern Rumania, is due to the fact that Lithuania, before 1918, formed part of the Russian 'Pale', within which alone the Jews were allowed to settle without special permission. Thus the Jewish problem in Lithuania differs radically from that in the other Baltic countries.

563 who estimate their numbers considerably higher than does the official
162 census, lived for the most part near the East Prussian frontier, where they settled as small peasants and artisans in the last century. Small Polish and Lettish minorities inhabited the districts bordering on
565 their respective countries of origin. The bulk of the Lithuanians themselves belonged to the peasant and farmer class. There were, however, fairly large bourgeois, clerical, and intellectual classes; the nobility, in so far as it still existed, resided for the most part in Poland, and was in fact almost entirely Polish.

563 The legal status of the minorities was regulated by Articles 73 and
656 74 of the Constitution of December 1922, which provided that
642 national minorities, forming 'an appreciable part of the citizens', might administer autonomously the affairs of their national culture and elect the necessary bodies to conduct these affairs in the manner prescribed by law. They might also impose taxes on their members for the needs of national culture, and might avail themselves of a proportion of the sums set aside by the State and the local government bodies for purposes of education and charity, in so far as their needs were not satisfied by the general establishments maintained by those bodies.[1]

563 In accordance with the requirements of the League of Nations, on
671 May 12, 1922, shortly after her admission to that body, Lithuania made a Declaration modelled on the Polish Minority Treaty of June 28, 1919. This guaranteed to Lithuanian nationals who belonged to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities the same treatment in law and in fact enjoyed by other nationals, as well as the right to maintain and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments, and to use their own language and practise their own religion therein.[2] Provision was to be made, in towns where there was a considerable proportion of Lithuanian nationals belonging to linguistic minorities, for the instruction of children in the State primary schools in their own

[1] These rights and privileges were confirmed by Section VII of the Constitution of May 25, 1928.

[2] TABLE 2. *Minorities and Education in Lithuania.*

871

Type of school	*Year*	*Total no. of schools*	*Lithuanian*	*Jewish*	*Russian*	*German*	*Polish*	*Latvian*	*White Russian*	*Diverse*
Primary	1928–9	2,431	2,185	135	15	18	30	8	..	40
"	1935–6	2,308	2,147	100	3	10	11	13	..	15
Secondary	1928–9	122	83	29	2	3	3	1	..	1
"	1935–6	107	74	24	1	3	3	1	..	1
		students								
University	1928–9	3,812	2,555	1,070	47	30	85	10	7	8
"	1935–6	3,223	2,555	486	40	30	84		13	6

1: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1938 R51 Baltic States RBJ
Lithuania

563 tongue, without prejudice to the obligatory teaching of Lithuanian
671 as an additional language. Special clauses (Nos. 7 and 8) extended freedom to the Jews in all educational and religious matters. All persons born in Lithuania after the date of the Declaration, and unable to claim another nationality by birth, were recognized as Lithuanian nationals. The Declaration reproduced the 'guarantee article' of the Polish and other minority treaties, and the ordinary minority procedure was adopted.[1]

563 In spite of this good beginning, the treatment of minorities in
798 Lithuania has not improved with the years. Nor was any great effort made to implement the promises of cultural autonomy described above. An autonomous organization established by the Jewish community in 1919, consisting of a National Council and a number of local branches, was abolished by a Christian-Democratic Government in 1924, and no other national minority has so far successfully availed itself of the right of cultural autonomy which it is supposed, in theory, to enjoy.

563 During the short period of parliamentary government the minor-
186 ities had already begun to suffer from the ultra-nationalism of the
871 Lithuanian parties, which was accentuated, especially with regard to the Poles, by the interminable Vilna controversy. After the establishment of the Voldemaras dictatorship in 1926, nationalist feeling ran higher than ever, and forty-eight Polish schools were shut. In August 1929 there were reports in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of pogroms against the Jews in Kaunas—always a centre of unrest owing to its high percentage of Jewish, German, and Polish inhabitants—and at Slobodke and Shanz, and there were general complaints that the State exercised too much control over the minority schools. Similar complaints were made, later on, against the Tubelis Administration, although in actual fact most of the Polish schools had been reopened. In August 1934 anti-Jewish outbursts occurred in Kaunas and elsewhere.

Since Herr Hitler's advent to power there has been a considerable amount of German propaganda in Lithuania with the particular object of securing the reincorporation of Memel in Germany.[2] The

[1] Jewish petitions and memoranda were submitted in December 1921 and in June and September 1925. The Polish Government made several complaints of the general treatment of the Polish minority in Lithuania in 1921 and 1922; in 1924–5 a number of petitions from the 'Committee of Polish Exiles', referring to linguistic, educational, and agrarian reform questions, were dealt with by the League Council. In August 1928, 34 Russians submitted a complaint relating to expropriation, which was considered by the Council in its 55th–56th Sessions, but which, in view of the remedial measures taken by the Lithuanian Government, was finally dismissed in January 1930. (See *League of Nations Official Journal*, xi, No. 8, p. 967.) A similar petition from 21 Ukrainians in November 1927 was also dismissed by the Council on September 8, 1928. (See *League of Nations Official Journal*, ix, No. 10, p. 1493.)

[2] The question of the minority in Memel is dealt with below, pp. 93–100.

Lithuania
Latvia

grievances of the German minority itself have been concerned chiefly with the exclusive use of the Lithuanian language in schools, and with the Government's policy of trying to compel German children to attend Lithuanian schools. In 1936 the Poles joined with the Germans in protesting against such measures, and against the restrictive supervision of the press.

Latvia. The national minorities in Latvia formed a larger proportion of the total population[1]—amounting in 1930 to 23·4 per cent.—and played a correspondingly more important part in political life than did those in Estonia or Lithuania. The majority of the Lettish population are small peasants, with a certain number of artisans and labourers and a very small middle class. The large Russian minority also consists chiefly of peasants—many of them refugees—who are settled almost entirely in the frontier districts, whereas the Jews have tended, as usual, to concentrate in the towns. The German minority is made up mainly of expropriated landlords and of merchants, over two-thirds of whom live in Riga. The Poles, most of whom belong to the small landowning and middle classes, tend, like the Russians, to congregate in the border districts.

The Latvian Constitution of 1922 contained no reference to the position of the minorities, although the guarantee of their cultural and national rights had been one of the planks of the 'Political Platforms of the National Council' in 1918. A law of December 6, 1919, however, providing that Lettish should be the language in the law-courts, permitted the use of German and Russian where necessary.[2] Moreover, on December 18, 1919, a 'Law of Scholastic Autonomy' was enacted, providing for the establishment of a council for each of the more important minorities, to have complete control in respect of the types of schools set up, the kind of instruction given, and other educational matters.[3] A specified proportion of the Budget was

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[1] TABLE 3. *Population of Latvia According to Race.*

[162]

Race	1920		1930		1935	
	Number	*Percentage of total*	*Number*	*Percentage of total*	*Number*	*Percentage of total*
Lettish . . .	1,138,536	80·4	1,394,957	73·4	1,472,612	75·50
Russian (including White Russian) . . .	118,023	8·9	237,809	12·5	233,366	11·97
Jewish	60,892	4·3	94,388	4·9	93,479	4·79
German	45,315	3·2	69,855	3·7	62,144	3·19
Polish	31,154	2·2	59,374	1·4	48,949	2·51
Others (including Lithuanians and Estonians) .	14,161	1·0	33,593	0·9	39,952	2·04

[2] This privilege was confirmed by a circular of the Ministry of Justice on December 4, 1920, and again by a pronouncement of the Supreme Court of Appeal in January 1931.

[3] Such councils, while acting within a special Minorities Department of the Ministry of Education, would each include a chairman and three other delegates nominated by the

563 877

allotted to each minority for educational purposes, and the compulsory elementary schools were to be maintained by the State, while no obstacles were to be placed in the way of the establishment of any number of private schools. Up till now such councils have been formed for the German, Russian, White Russian, Jewish, and Polish groups. The Germans appear to be satisfied with the system, but the Russians complain that they receive less than their fair share of the State subsidies, and that the local government bodies, which are composed chiefly of Letts, do not provide enough Russian schools.[1]

563 648

In response to the League's request for a declaration guaranteeing minority rights, Latvia only consented, after protracted negotiations, to make a general Declaration, on July 7, 1923; this proposed that the subject should be regarded as closed, while acknowledging the League Council's right to take up the question again if at any time the situation of the minorities should not 'appear to correspond to the general principles laid down in the various minority Treaties', and admitting the right of the minorities themselves to send petitions to the Council.[2] Latvia also accepted the principle of the League's guarantee, but not the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice, in place of which she agreed that, if necessary, an advisory opinion might be obtained.

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The situation of the minorities in general, while very favourable under the earlier Agrarian Ministries—so much so that they frequently had representatives in the Cabinet—on the whole deteriorated gradually from about 1929 onwards. In August of that year the Celmins Ministry, which had decided to grant a subsidy towards the erection of a German war memorial, was only saved from defeat

minority concerned. The chairman would represent his nationality in all cultural questions, and would participate in an advisory capacity in the sessions of the Cabinet whenever those questions were under consideration.

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TABLE 4. *Minorities and Education in Latvia.*

Type of school	*Year*	*Total no. of schools*	*Lettish*	*Language of Instruction*							
				Great Russian	*White Russian*	*German*	*Polish*	*Jewish*	*Lithuanian*	*Estonian*	*Diverse*
Primary	1928–9	1,931	1,410	229	31	91	34	80	7	4	45
„	1933–4	1,907	1,461	173	18	77	31	67	11	4	80
Secondary	1928–9	157	81	14	2	13	3	22	1	..	2
„	1933–4	122	87	8	..	10	2	13	1	..	2
		students									
University	1929–30	8,227	6,865	171	..	418	36	726	46	19	3
„	1933–4	7,203	6,103	195	..	334	33	510	30	17	4

[1] Since the Declaration of 1923, only one petition has been lodged (by German nationals) against Latvia, in April 1925, relating to agrarian reform. Previous to it there had been two German petitions on the same subject, in November 1920 and February 1921, and one Jewish petition relating to general minority treatment in September 1921. None of these petitions was brought before the Council.

by the Socialist Opposition through the German minority's eleventh-hour renunciation of the subsidy. In the following November a Bill tabled by Socialist initiative was passed, depriving members of the national minorities of the right to benefit from the distribution of confiscated lands to ex-servicemen, on the ground that they had not shared in the struggle for Latvian independence. These moves, which were primarily designed to overthrow the Government by creating a strong nationalist feeling, were regarded by the German minority as an insult aimed directly at themselves, and they proceeded to withdraw their representative, Herr Berent, from the Cabinet as a protest.

In 1931, under the bourgeois-conservative Ulmanis Government formed in May, and later under the nationalist-bourgeois Skujenieks Ministry of November, there were further attacks on the privileges of the minorities. A new law prescribing the exclusive use of Lettish in the *Saeima*[1] was rejected in December of that year, but an emergency decree issued in October deprived the Germans of all rights over Riga Cathedral, its museum, and its vicarages, which had been in their hands for over 700 years, a measure which aroused the more resentment since a proposal to this effect had already been rejected by the *Saeima* in the previous May and by a plebiscite held in the summer.

The Polish minority, too, came in for its share of attention in the autumn of 1931; the closing of six elementary Polish schools, the suppression of a Polish newspaper, the suspension of the Polish League of Catholic Youth and the Association of Latgalian Poles, and the latter's final dissolution, led to the resignation of one of the Polish deputies in the *Saeima*. But, when the wave of strong nationalist feeling due to the elections had subsided, conditions improved somewhat, and in March 1932 the Poles were allowed full cultural autonomy again.

Under the dictatorship established in May 1934 the privileges of the minorities sustained a fresh series of assaults. Two decrees were issued in June; the first providing that, in families where either of the parents was of Lettish nationality, the children must attend Lettish schools, and that, where the father and mother belonged to different national minorities, the father's nationality, rather than the language spoken in the household, was to be the decisive factor; the second prescribing Lettish as the sole written or spoken language in all State and communal services, except in districts at least half of whose inhabitants were registered at the last census as speaking a language other than Lettish. In July the German Autonomous

[1] Hitherto, both Russian and German had customarily been spoken in the *Saeima*, in addition to Lettish, though there was no law specifically permitting their use.

563 Educational Board was abolished, and special officials (a German, 571 a Russian, a Pole, and a Jew) have since been put in charge of the 191 educational affairs of their respective national groups. A further blow was struck with the issue of a new decree in January 1935, requiring all public and private economic undertakings to keep their books and conduct their correspondence and general business in the Lettish language. In June twelve Polish schools were closed.

563 Finally, on New Year's Day of 1936, came the unkindest cut of all, 475 when decrees were issued setting up State Chambers of Trade and of 648 Industry and Commerce, and providing for the eventual dissolution of other economic organizations such as the German guilds, which had existed for some 700 years, and the transfer of their property to the new Chambers or to the local administrations. This measure aroused the resentment not only of the German minority in Latvia, which presented a memorandum on the question to the Government, but also of the German Government, which took up the cudgels on their behalf. On January 16, 1936, the Latvian Minister in Berlin handed in a protest against the violent anti-Latvian press campaign which ensued; on the 22nd the German Minister in Riga called on President Ulmanis, but the latter protested firmly against any German interference in Latvian affairs. Soon after, in March, a secret organization believed to have connexions with Germany was discovered; the arrest of some thirty-five German Balts followed, and, on April 1, a decree was issued dissolving all the economic organizations which had not already complied with the economic decrees of the previous January.[1]

Estonia. The bulk of the Estonians themselves belong to the small 565 peasant class, which was emancipated from serfdom in the last cen- 563 tury; a few are labourers and artisans, and there is a small middle 162 class. The national minorities, which in 1934 amounted to 11·8 per cent. of the total population of 1,107,059,[2] consist chiefly of Russians, Germans, Swedes, and Jews. Nearly three-quarters of the Russians are poor peasants living in the eastern frontier districts, the other

[1] The famous Riga *Gesellschaft* was spared, as being a purely cultural union.

[2] TABLE 5. *Population of Estonia According to Race.*

Race	1922		1934	
	Number	Percentage of total	Number	Percentage of total
Estonian . . .	970,707	87·66	997,923	88·2
German . . .	18,319	1·66	16,346	1·5
Russian . . .	91,109	8·23	92,656	8·5
Swedish . . .	7,850	0·71	7,641	0·7
Jewish . . .	4,566	0·41	4,434	0·4
Others . . .	14,506	1·31	7,190	0·7

quarter being composed chiefly of ex-officials of the Imperialist Russian régime. In 1922 there were about 18,000 refugees, formerly members of the White Russian army of General Yudenich. The German minority, which is almost entirely Lutheran, consists mainly of merchants, artisans, industrialists, and expropriated Baltic Barons; most of them live in the towns, as does also the small middle-class group of Jews. The Swedes are concentrated on the coast and in certain islands, where they earn a livelihood as fishermen and peasants. A certain number of Letts inhabit the districts near the Latvian border, several of which were in dispute between the two countries in 1918.

Estonia has a well-earned reputation for the model treatment of her national minorities. The Constitution of 1920 (Articles 12 and 20–3) guaranteed instruction in their mother tongue to racial minorities, and granted every Estonian citizen the right to declare to what nationality he belonged. Racial minorities had the right to establish autonomous institutions for the preservation and development of their national culture, so far as was compatible with the interests of the State. In districts where the majority of the population belonged to a racial minority the language used in the local administrative bodies might be the language of that minority, without prejudice to the right of Estonian nationals to use their own in dealing with such bodies. Article 23 provided that individual German, Russian, and Swedish nationals should have the right to address the Central Administration in their own languages, and foreshadowed the passing of special laws regulating the use of those languages in the courts. In view of this comprehensive charter of rights, Estonia considered superfluous the Declaration guaranteeing minority rights which was required of her by the League of Nations on her admission in 1921, and she only consented to make a general statement, similar to that of Latvia, on September 17, 1923.[1]

On February 4, 1925, a Law of Cultural Autonomy was adopted, providing that any minority numbering not less than 3,000 persons should have the right to exercise national autonomy.[2] The administrative organs of cultural autonomy were to consist of the Cultural Council, with not less than twenty and not more than sixty

[1] On two occasions German landowners in Estonia sent petitions to the League of Nations relating to agrarian reform, once in February 1921 (before the Declaration of 1923) and again in May 1926. In neither case did the petitions come before the Council.

[2] If such a minority expressed the wish to do so, a register was drawn up in which any citizen over 18 years of age might enter his name, the sole criterion of his nationality being his own declaration. If less than half of the adult citizens entered in the last census as members of the minority enrolled, no further steps were taken and no fresh application could be made for three years. Otherwise, the next step was to hold elections for a Cultural Council, the convocation of which required at least half the votes registered. Finally, the right to exercise cultural autonomy was granted if two-thirds of the Council expressed the wish for it.

563 members, a small executive committee, and local councils if desirable. The competence of the Council extended to all educational, cultural, and charitable institutions, and to the collection of special taxes from the members of the minority, subject to the approval of the Ministers of Finance and Education. In addition to the funds thus raised, the minority received a proportion of the funds set aside by the State and local governments for educational and other cultural purposes.[1]

Up till now the German and Jewish minorities have availed themselves of this law, which has operated very satisfactorily. The Russian minority did not at first consider it necessary to organize a Cultural Council, since, like the Swedes, they already had sufficient influence in the local administrations of the frontier districts, in which they were massed in great numbers; they are now, however, preparing to exercise the right of cultural autonomy. Under the liberal régime thus established there has been singularly little discontent among the national minorities, although under the dictatorship set up in 1934 it would appear to have increased to a certain extent. In the bi-cameral Assembly, which drafted the new Constitution in 1937, the Jewish, Russian, and German minorities had representatives in the Upper Chamber.

3. Church and State[2]

795 162 *Estonia.* The majority of Estonians belong to the Lutheran Church, which has been firmly established ever since the period of Swedish rule (1521–1710); the Greek Orthodox religion introduced under the Russian régime gained relatively few adherents.

659 The Constitution of 1920, while guaranteeing freedom of religion, declared in Article 11 that there was no State religion, and made no

[1] Table 6. *Minorities and Education in Estonia, 1929–30.**

563 871

Type of school	No. of schools	No. of pupils	Nationality (per 100 pupils)				Language of instruction (per 100 pupils)			
			Estonian	Russian	German	Others	Estonian	Russian	German	Others
Primary . . .	1,292	97,979	88·1	8·8	1·3	1·8	88·4	8·3	1·2	1
Secondary . .	83	15,663	85·7	4·4	7·3	2·6	84·5	5·3	9·2	1
Higher (university and higher technical school) . .	2	4,235	86·8	3·3	3·75	4·15	..	..	..	..

* Figures taken from *Estonie de 1920–1930* (Tallinn, 1931).

[2] Table 7. *Religious Denominations in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (in percentages of the total populations).*

162 795

Country	Date of census	Lutheran	Roman Catholic	Orthodox	Old Believers	Jews	Others
Estonia .	1934	78·0	0·2	19·0	..	0·4	2·4
Latvia . .	1930	56·6	23·7	8·9	4·8	4·9	1·1
Lithuania .	1923	8·8	80·5	2·5	..	0·9	7·3

and so forth, were rejected.[1] Finally, in January 1922, the Council, despairing of a settlement, gave up the case and withdrew its commissioners from the territory, thus virtually leaving events to take their own course. A year later the Poles, rightly judging that every one was weary of the controversy, appealed to the Conference of Ambassadors, in February 1923, for official recognition of their possession of Vilna. On March 15, acting in virtue of Article 87 of the Treaty of Versailles,[2] the Conference finally disposed of the matter by laying down the Polish-Lithuanian frontier in such a way as to recognize the *status quo*.[3]

As between Poland and Lithuania, however, the quarrel was by no means settled. Indeed, up till March 1938, a state of virtual blockade existed on the frontier,[4] nor were diplomatic relations between the two countries ever resumed until that date. Lithuania refused to accept the Ambassadors' decision, but her request in June 1924 for a fresh conference was rejected. The chances of a settlement were not improved either by the Vatican's recognition of Vilna as a Polish diocese in 1925, or by the conclusion in 1926 of a Soviet-Lithuanian Pact of Non-aggression in which the U.S.S.R. reaffirmed its recognition of the Lithuanian claim to Vilna.[5] Under the dictatorships established in 1926 by Marshal Pilsudski in Poland and M. Voldemaras in Lithuania, mutual hostility was stimulated—in Lithuania's case deliberately—in spite of the League Council's efforts at reconciliation in December 1927 and again in September 1928.

After the downfall of M. Voldemaras in 1929, a certain *détente* was

[1] The Poles, however, conducted a plebiscite of their own on January 8, 1922, in the form of elections to a Diet which subsequently voted for union with Poland. The majority of the Lithuanian population in the country districts, and of the Jews in the city of Vilna, abstained from voting, and only Polish deputies were returned. The report of the League's Military Commission of Control pointed out that 'the control of the elections was entirely in the hands of the interested party', and that they were carried out under military occupation.

[2] Article 87 provided that 'the boundaries of Poland not laid down in the present Treaty will be subsequently determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers'.

[3] Moreover, on February 1, 1923, the Council of the League had accepted a Polish proposal that questions concerning non-Polish inhabitants of the Vilna district should henceforth be subject to the normal minorities procedure; thus, instead of being placed automatically on the Council's agenda, they were to be dealt with by a Committee of Three. This procedure was accepted by Lithuania in the minority dispute submitted to the League in October 1927.

[4] In 1925 an agreement was reached on frontier and river traffic and on postal communications, and in 1926 the Niemen was declared open to rafting; but, in fact, the frontier remained closed, since the two Powers were unable to agree as to the conditions on which it should be reopened—the Polish Government insisting on, and the Lithuanian Government refusing, the simultaneous renewal of diplomatic relations. Lithuania also persistently refused to concede consular relations to Poland, or to make a railway agreement. In 1930 the Permanent Court at The Hague gave a decision in her favour on the question as to whether she was bound to open the Landswarow–Kalkordoys railway for traffic.

[5] See above, pp. 71-2.

SU 490 BALTIC REGION

361 Narva, on the Narva River between Lake Peipus and the Gulf of
Finland, is an old fortress city, with the forts of Ivangorod and Her-
BC mannstadt on opposite banks of the river. It is noted as a textile center,
361 the home of the Krengol'm (Kreenholm) cotton and linen mill, powered by a hydroelectric plant on the Narva River. The suburb of Ivangorod, on the right bank of the Narva, was placed into Leningrad Oblast of the Russian SFSR as the result of a boundary change in 1945.

Kaliningrad Oblast (Russian SFSR)

Capital, Kaliningrad; area, *c.* 6,100, population, 600,000

SU
631 Kaliningrad Oblast was organized in the northern part of East Prussia,
BC north of a line passing north of Goldap and Braniewo (German
631 *Braunsberg*), which was assigned by the Berlin Conference in 1945 to the USSR. The oblast lies on the Baltic Sea and is bordered in the east
SU by the Lithuanian SSR along the Neman River and in the south by
133* Poland. The territory is level lowland rising slightly toward the south
BC and characterized by a humid climate, with mild winters and cool sum-
133 mers. It is drained by the Neman in the northeast and by the Pregel' in the southeast. Along the coast it includes portions of the two lagoon-like inlets characteristic of this section of the Baltic Sea—Kurland Lagoon in the north and Vistula Lagoon in the south. Each lagoon is separated from the sea by a long, narrow sand bar (*Nehrung*), which leaves only a narrow passage at the northern end. Amber, peat, and
SU lignite are the chief mineral resources.
631 As in the case of other territories formerly held by an enemy nation
563 (Japanese part of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands), no provision was
BC made to establish the northern part of East Prussia as an autonomous
631 area. Instead, the German population which was left at the time of the
●563 Russian occupation, estimated at 100,000, was deprived of minority rights similar to those provided for other nationalities in the USSR. Only in the field of education did the Russian administration officially acknowledge the existence of a German minority by establishing a limited number of German schools. After a brief existence as a special okrug,
SU the area was organized as Königsberg Oblast in April, 1946, and re-
167 named Kaliningrad Oblast in July, 1946. Since a Russian majority is
BC mandatory in the population of the oblasts of the Russian SFSR, Rus-
167 sian immigration into the oblast was organized from the central European USSR, where a relatively high population density prevails in oblasts such as Smolensk, Bryansk, Pskov, Novgorod, Kostroma,

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Baltic Countries RB1

The Baltic
Ba. 186 563 S.U. 563

refugees in the Soviet Union not only occupied important posts in the Soviet state administration, but also kept alive their own local problems. They cultivated the memory of the ephemeral Soviet Republics which in 1918–19 had existed in parts of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia and prepared themselves for a fresh start. 'We shall never surrender to anybody the banner of Soviet Latvia' – said the Latvian communist Y. Krumin, in 1935 – 'the banner of the first dictatorship of the Latvian proletariat and we shall again carry this banner into the fight for a new Latvia which, freed from the previous mistakes and weaknesses, will victoriously conclude the great cause started in 1919'.[28]

As *émigrés* in the Soviet Union the Baltic communists analysed their mistakes in great detail, and admitted that they had failed to understand the importance of the national problem. During the short period in which they had been in power the Baltic communists had indeed been concerned only with the creation of an abstract 'workers' and 'peasants' State. They did not realize that problems of language and culture were of interest to workers and peasants as well and that the aspirations towards an Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian national State could not be dismissed lightly as purely bourgeois conceptions.*

BALTIC IN FORM – RUSSIAN IN ESSENCE

Ba. 186 177.18

In 1940 the Soviet Government and the Baltic communists had their second start in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Have they shown since then that they have learned the lessons of the abortive experiments in 1918–19? Yes and no. They have paid lip-service to the national feelings of the three countries but have simultaneously violated their genuine national interests in the most flagrant way. The Soviet régime, it is true, no longer disregarded the national traditions of the Baltic peoples but 'readjusted' them so that they would fit into the general pattern of Russian State interests.

One particularly strong tendency was to accentuate whenever possible the anti-German aspects in the history and literature of the Baltic peoples, and, at the same time, completely to suppress any anti-Russian propen-

* The first Soviet Lithuania supplies an interesting example of the extent to which the communists ignored the national factor. The manifesto of the 'Provisional Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Government of Lithuania', set up in December 1918, mentioned only social and economic problems. The composition of the so-called Lithuanian Soviet Government itself showed that the Soviet power considered 'Lithuania' as a geographical setting for a multi-national State and not as a national State of the Lithuanians. The Government was made up of two Poles, two Jews and four Lithuanians, and it would have included Byelorussians had it been possible to find suitable Byelorussian communists in Vilna.

The chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Government, V.S. Mitskevitch-Kansukas, later described as a serious political error the fact that Lithuanian communists did not adhere to the principle of national self-determination to the point of separation and had thus created the impression that the Lithuanian Soviet Government was simply another occupation government maintained in power by Red Army bayonets.**

[Cf. category 116, pp. 105-108, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz – Analyst]

21; Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Baltic Countries R81

LIQUIDATION OF MINORITIES IN THE BALTIC STATES

Br 53 The increase of the Russian minorities in the Baltic States was accompanied by another change in the ethnical composition of those countries. Through various administrative and economic measures the Soviet Government eliminated practically all non-Russian minority groups. The German minorities had already been repatriated to Germany as a result of the Nazi-Soviet pact of autumn, 1939, on the partition of Eastern Europe into German and Russian spheres of interest. Since Germany had recognized the Soviet claim to the Baltic States she decided to withdraw all persons of German origin from those countries. In all, 130,000 Germans had been evacuated, 80,000 from Latvia and Estonia and 50,000 from Lithuania.

In 1941 the Soviet authorities began to evacuate the Swedes of Estonia, remnants from a period when the Swedish king ruled over both western and eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. These Estonian Swedes did not live on the Estonian mainland where the Soviet Government could have easily coped with them, but on various Baltic islands of strategic importance such as Vormsi, Rogö (Pakrisaared), Runö (Ruhnu), and Ösel (Saaremaa). Soviet Russia therefore thought it preferable to clear the country of the entire Swedish minority and concluded an agreement with Sweden about its repatriation. The first Swedish transports had already left Estonia when the Russian-German War broke out. Later the German occupation authorities in Estonia continued with the organized evacuation of the Swedes. They, too, did not succeed in finishing the job. Many Estonian Swedes whom the Germans had failed to evacuate in time crossed the Baltic in small fishing boats in order not to fall again under Soviet rule. The majority of the 7,800 Estonian Swedes were thus driven out not by the Soviet régime itself but by the fear of the return of communism to Estonia.*

The politically important Polish minority of Lithuania decreased considerably in consequence of an agreement on the exchange of populations which Soviet Lithuania concluded with the Polish National Committee on September 22nd, 1944. Following this agreement 150,000 Poles were evacuated from Lithuania, particularly from the Vilna region. Probably an equal number of Poles refused to leave. The government and Communist Party of Soviet Lithuania have therefore published a number of newspapers in the Polish language and have also opened

* Another Swedish minority group within the Soviet Russian Empire was liquidated as early as 1929 when 900 inhabitants of Gammal Svenskby, a Swedish village on the Dnieper, were granted permission to emigrate to Sweden. The inhabitants of Gammal Svenskby were well-to-do peasants who opposed collectivization. The Swedes concerned came from the Estonian island of Dagö (Hiiumaa). Czarina Catherine II had offered them land in the Southern Ukraine where they settled down in 1780.**

over 100 Polish schools. The survival of even a small Polish minority in Lithuania will make it possible for Polish nationalists to maintain their traditional claim on the city of Vilna.

The number of Jews in the Baltic States was also drastically reduced, but in their case the Germans, not the Soviet Government, were chiefly responsible. Many thousands of Baltic Jews were exterminated by the Germans because the Soviet authorities had failed to evacuate them in time.

From a narrow-minded, nationalistic point of view the Baltic peoples might perhaps have welcomed at one stage the disappearance of national minorities, which until 1939 had lived in their midst. In the event they discovered that the departure of Swedes, Poles, Germans and Jews was hardly to their advantage since it only made room for Russian colonists.

SOVIET ESTONIA

Of the three Baltic peoples the Estonians are in the greatest danger of falling victim to the Russian advance. This is due mainly to the fact that the Estonians are fewer in number than either Latvians or Lithuanians. Their numerical inferiority is aggravated by the fact that their natural increase is lower than that of the majority of Western European peoples. In 1938 the rate of natural increase in Estonia was 1·7 per 1,000 inhabitants, which was the lowest of all European countries with the exception of France, and, on account of the Civil War, Spain. In 1940 the situation in Estonia deteriorated to such an extent that a decline of 0·6 per 1,000 was recorded.

In Latvia the position in regard to the population increase is slightly better than in Estonia, its index being at 4·9 in 1938, and 3·7 in 1940. Both Estonians and Latvians are peoples with a Western European birth-rate living in Eastern Europe and they will undoubtedly suffer from all the inconveniences inherent in such an anomaly, in the first place from the pressure exercised by the population of the Soviet Russian Empire whose rate of increase was 17·8 in 1938.

The Russian pressure will become particularly active and real in the case of Estonia because of the close proximity of that country to Leningrad. Leningrad, with a population of over 3,000,000, must inevitably extend its grip over the whole of Estonia with its 1,000,000 inhabitants, and Estonia will then be degraded to a kind of economic annexe of the second largest Soviet city. The construction of a gas pipe-line linking the gas-works of Kokhtla-Järve in Eastern Estonia with Leningrad is an indication that such a development is well under way. Kokhtla-Järve, a new Estonian town which was built during the first post-war Five-Year Plan, is the 'centre of the Estonian Donbass' and is expected to become the largest shale-producing centre in the U.S.S.R.

The development of the new shale mines, shale-refining plants, electric